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IMMIGRATION AS A SOURCE OF URBAN INCREASE.

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There are no direct records of the composition of urban increase in the United States for the last two census decades, hence resort must be had to an indirect method of estimating the composition of urban growth. Professor John M. Gillette estimated in 1911 that from 65 to 70 per cent. of the urban growth of the United States in recent years was composed of immigrants.* The present paper is an effort to determine the contribution to the growth of cities in the United States made by immigration during the period 1890 to 1913.

It will be seen from Table I, that the total immigration to the United States during the decade 1890-1900 was equivalent to a large proportion of the urban increase (considering only places of 8,000 inhabitants and over as urban) for the same period; that the total immigration to the United States during the decade 1900-1910 was actually greater than the total urban increase for the same period; and that the total immigration 1910-1913 was equivalent to a large proportion of the estimated urban increase for the same period.

Now the immigration of recent years is localized to a marked degree. Table I shows that during the decades 1890-1900, 1900-1910, and the period 1910-1913, 75 per cent., 77.2 per cent., and 79.3 per cent., respectively, of the immigration to this country was destined to the nine states California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Since 1895 the Commissioner Generals of Immigration, and for the years 1892-1894 the Superintendents of Immigration, have recorded every year the number of immigrants destined to each state and territory. The immigration to these nine states for the year 1891 was estimated on the assumption that it was approximately equivalent to the average immigration for the period 1892-1900. But in dealing with these statistics of immigration the Commissioner warns us, "It should be borne in mind that

* *Drift to the City in Relation to the Rural Problem*, Amer. Jour. of Sociology, Vol. 16, p. 645.

neither the information in regard to occupations, nor that giving destinations is conclusive of the facts stated. The destination is taken from the avowed purposes of the aliens upon that point, which, if true, are subject to change.”*

An examination of the distribution of the population of these states shows that in 1890, 1900, and 1910 the urban population formed respectively 66.4 per cent., 67.4 per cent., and 63.7 per cent. of the urban population of the country (see Table II). Individually, these states are highly urbanized communities, for in 1890, 1900, and 1910 their average urban population formed respectively, 45.8 per cent., 51.6 per cent., and 59.9 per cent. of their populations. Moreover, these averages are decidedly higher than the percentage urban population of the United States as a whole, which was 29 per cent., 32.9 per cent., and 38.8 per cent. for the same dates.

In composition, the populations of these states averaged over 50 per cent. of foreign birth and parentage in 1900 and 1910. The percentages of the population of the great cities of these states which are of foreign birth and parentage are considerably higher than in the states at large. For example, in the cities of New York, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Bridgeport, Worcester, Fall River, Detroit, Buffalo, and Paterson, the population of foreign birth and parentage ranges from 70.7 per cent. in Worcester, to 86 per cent. of the population in Fall River.

A comparison of the urban increase of these nine states with the urban increase for the country for the decades 1890-1900 and 1900-1910, reveals the fact that the urban increase of these nine states formed respectively 70.1 per cent. and 63.6 per cent. of the total urban increase of the country during the decades named. In the decade 1890-1900, the immigration to these states was equivalent to 58.4 per cent. of their urban gain for the same decade. In the decade 1900-1910, the immigration to these states was actually very much greater than their urban gain. But it must be noted that these totals do not take account of the number of aliens who have left the nine states during the same period. Since 1908, the Commissioner has recorded annually the number of aliens leaving each state.

* Annual report of 1905, p. 14.

If we deduct this number from the number of immigrants destined to these states, we have the net immigration to these states—the permanent gain from immigration. Proceeding in this manner, we find that the net immigration to these states for the period 1908 to 1913, is 69.9 per cent. of the total immigration for the same period. Thus about 70 per cent. of the immigration appears to be permanent gain.

But the problem of estimating the net immigration to these states for the decades 1890–1900 and 1900–1910, now arises. Is it permissible to apply this percentage obtained from the short period 1908 to 1913, to the decades 1890–1900 and 1900–1910? We shall not attempt to apply this percentage to the decade 1890–1900, chiefly for the reason that the recent immigration has shown itself to be more migratory than that of the earlier period and our correction percentage, even if we could get it, would probably be much smaller. Since all we can hope for from the application of this indirect method of estimating the composition of urban increase is approximately correct results, it seems best to accept the percentage 58.4 for the earlier decade as being fairly accurate.

With reference to the decade 1900–1910, we may assume that the percentage obtained from the period 1908 to 1913 applies. This assumption has at least the advantage of conservatism, *i. e.*, of making the net immigration appear smaller than it really is, because general considerations lead us to believe that the migratory and shifting elements in the recent immigration were much less numerous prior to 1907 and particularly in the early years of the decade. For it must be remembered that during the years immediately prior to 1907 and subsequently, the proportion of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe has increased considerably, and it is just this alien element which has added to the migratory and shifting character of our foreign population. If, therefore, we assume that 70 per cent. of the immigration to the nine states in the decade 1900–1910 was approximately clear gain, then the 5,001,295 aliens so added to the population of these states are equivalent to 85.2 per cent. of the urban gain for that decade. Similarly, the net immigration to these states for the period 1910–1913 is equivalent to 64.1 per cent. to the estimated urban increase.

Inasmuch as immigration appears to have been the preponderating source of urban increase in those nine highly urbanized states which contain a majority of the urban population of the country, it is permissible to conclude that immigration has been the chief source of urban increase in the United States during the past quarter of a century.

TABLE I.
COMPARISON OF URBAN GAINS AND IMMIGRATION 1890-1913.

State.	Urban Gain, Periods.		
	1890-1900.	1900-1910.	1910-1913.*
California.....	154,612	558,802	281,285
Connecticut.....	108,589	181,122	76,447
Illinois.....	785,995	696,432	306,492
Massachusetts.....	567,692	514,404	221,624
Michigan.....	201,239	321,326	146,492
New Jersey.....	372,089	463,659	196,257
New York.....	1,380,165	1,759,939	747,923
Ohio.....	440,498	584,260	270,947
Pennsylvania.....	713,886	786,264	278,557
Total.....	4,724,765	5,866,208	2,526,004
Total for U. S.....	6,736,095	9,227,030	3,958,253
Per cent. urban gain in 9 states is of urban gain of U. S.....	70.1	63.6	63.8
Immigration and Urban Gain.	1890-1900.	1900-1910.	1910-1913.
Immigration to nine states.....	2,768,659	7,144,702	2,313,570
Immigration to United States.....	3,687,564	9,243,958	2,914,651
Per cent. immigration to nine states is of immigration to United States.....	75.0	77.2	79.3
Per cent. immigration to nine states is of urban gain.....	58.4	85.2†	64.1†

* Estimated, Census Bulletin No. 122.

† Based on net immigration given in Reports of Commissioner General of Immigration 1908-1913 and computed for period 1900-1910. Total immigration to nine states 1908-1913 was 4,343,532, net 3,024,815. Net immigration 1910-1913 was 1,619,499, estimated for 1900-1910 at 5,001,295, this is 85.2 per cent. of urban gain for same period (see above).

TABLE II.
URBAN POPULATION (PLACES OF 8,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER).

State.	Urban Population.			Per Cent. Urban.		
	1890.	1900.	1910.	1890.	1900.	1910.
California.....	495,086	649,474	1,275,359	40.8	43.7	53.6
Connecticut.....	376,479	483,069	805,992	50.4	53.2	72.3
Illinois.....	1,485,955	2,271,940	3,049,443	38.8	47.1	54.0
Massachusetts.....	1,564,931	2,132,623	2,748,518	69.9	76.0	81.6
Michigan.....	546,095	747,334	1,123,558	26.1	30.9	39.5
New Jersey.....	780,912	1,153,001	1,672,922	54.0	61.2	65.5
New York.....	3,599,877	4,980,042	6,817,433	60.0	68.5	73.1
Ohio.....	1,159,342	1,599,840	2,279,449	31.6	38.5	49.9
Pennsylvania.....	2,152,051	2,865,937	3,828,482	40.9	45.5	49.9
Total and averages.....	12,160,628	16,885,393	22,751,601	45.8	51.6	59.9
For U. S. totals and Averages.....	18,295,410	25,031,505	35,724,432	29.0	32.9	38.8
Per cent. urban population of nine states is of total urban population of United States.....				66.4	67.4	63.7